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## **Near East & South Asia**

***SUDAN***

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# Near East & South Asia

## SUDAN

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14 April 1992

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## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Pakistani Loan for Agriculture, Electricity

92AF0622D Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 2 Mar 92 p 1

[Article: "Pakistan Loans Sudan \$10 Million To Be Used in Agricultural Inputs, Electricity"]

[Text] Industry Minister Dr. Taj-al-Sirr Mustafa has said that Pakistan has promised to loan Sudan \$10 million with which to import production inputs in order to boost trade between the two countries.

In a statement to AL-INQADH AL-WATANI, the minister said that this sum will be channeled toward the cement, sugar, railroad, and electricity sectors. He noted that the Pakistani delegation's visit to Sudan falls within the framework of exploring opportunities for trade, technical cooperation, rehabilitating plants, and training cadres in the various areas of industry.

In a related development, Finance Minister 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi has urged the Pakistani Government to invest in Sudan, especially in the area of agriculture and of manufacturing agricultural equipment. Hamdi reviewed with the Pakistani delegation, which is visiting the country under the leadership of the first undersecretary of the Production Ministry, what has been accomplished in connection with implementing the loan advanced by the Pakistani Government to Sudan during the visit made by Lieutenant General al-Bashir to Pakistan in November 1990.

The Pakistani delegation also met with the minister of agriculture and discussed with him the possibility of establishing a number of agricultural projects. The delegation expressed Pakistan's willingness to implement some basic projects.

## INTERNAL AFFAIRS

### Al-Bashir on Councils, Free Speech, Press

92AF0622A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 5 Mar 92 p 3

[Article by al-Nur Ahmad al-Nur and Samih Sayyid: "Lt. Gen. al-Bashir Declares Start of Mobilization To Build Political System; Congresses Will Be Held According to Democratic Steps Ensuring Free Expression, Decision-Making; New Phase of Political Action Characterized by Genuineness, Clarity; Foreign Opposition Doesn't Bother Us Because Its Feud Is Over Self-Interests; Peace Efforts Continue, We Expect Good Results"]

[Text] Yesterday morning, Lt. Gen. 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and of the Council of Ministers, held a press conference at the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, in which he talked about the start of the activities for general mobilization to establish the

new political system, to schedule convocation of the Preliminary Conferences, and to draft their agenda. Following is the text of the press conference:

"In reaffirmation of the promise made by the National Salvation Revolution to hand over power to the people, we are launching, as of today, a major and important step in this direction by declaring general mobilization in all of the state's popular, executive, and sectoral institutions to establish a political system and to convene conferences according to democratic steps that ensure free expression and decision-making in the various political action vessels at their various levels. By proclaiming political mobilization, we guarantee that Sudan embarks on a new phase characterized by genuineness and by a clear vision. We are embracing the system of People's Conferences as a system of dialogue and consultation to replace the partisan feuding that prevailed in past eras.

"The objective of this open democratic dialogue is to enhance society's influence and to give society the opportunity to take the initiative to accomplish the political goals and national objectives through a democratic dialogue in which all Sudanese, with all their tribes and traditions, participate without any fear.

"These conferences will form the first step toward achieving national unity, so we can build a strong, united society with strong institutions that ensure the independence of society's authorities, initiatives, and needs.

"The political system will accomplish major objectives, one of which is to create harmony and balance between the conventional forces and modern forces. Previously, conflict was the most outstanding feature of the relationship between these forces. Such harmony between the traditional and modern forces ensures that we will avoid the state of disagreement which prevailed in the past, and this will enable us to accomplish the strategic objective of increasing the number of participants in public activity.

Lt. Gen. al-Bashir went on to talk further about the meanings and objectives of the general mobilization, saying:

"We in Sudan seek to accomplish a cultural plan that aspires to realize intrinsic genuineness—a plan that seeks to link church and state.

"The success of this plan will give the Sudanese the ability to offer the model of a condition in which economic stability prevails, as well as a model of economic, political, and social awakening. Such success will also offer proof of the Islamic tendency's ability to create a modern state.

"Another meaning of the general mobilization is that political action was tied to conflict and to conspiring interests, and that we want to alter this concept. We are offering now a new model that is founded on firm religious bases and that says that public activity is a trust for which man is accountable before God. Therefore, we

must have the fear of God in public activity and in choosing the person who engages in public activity."

#### Schedule for Creating the Political System

"The schedule according to which the political system is created will begin with the Preliminary Conferences, the Local Council Conferences, and the Governorate and State Conferences. The Preliminary Conferences will begin on 2 May 1992 in all parts of the north and in the secure parts of the south. Representatives will be selected from the People's Conferences and then moved upward.

"We instruct officials and governors to start all conferences at the same time and to let them deliberate for three days. When the preliminary conferences are concluded, we will start the Local Council Conferences, so that they can complete their work no later than mid-July 1992. Governorate Conferences will begin in July, following the celebration of the third anniversary of the National Salvation Revolution.

"These conferences will have committees at all the national, governorate, and local council levels. There will also be national technical committees for the National Conference. Election committees will be formed to oversee elections.

"All the political, executive, and popular forces will undertake the general mobilization. As for the Revolutionary Command Council, the government, and the National Council, it will be one of their duties to undertake the political mobilization.

"The same applies to state administrators; governors; the various media; the press; and the youth, women's, and student organizations. A national operations room will be formed to monitor this campaign in the various states.

"The conferences' agenda will be submitted to the head of state and will consist of three parts covering the national issues. The Comprehensive National Strategy Conference has drawn up the strategic plan for the coming decade, and this plan incorporates the objectives that we seek to accomplish in the next 10 years. This plan must be submitted for discussion by all sectors of the Sudanese people. This is why it will be presented to the Preliminary Conferences to debate it. This strategy concerns the general plan and how to implement it, so that all sectors of the people may participate in drafting the plan.

"As for the second part of the agenda, the revolution has been able to resolve numerous issues that had disabled Sudan for a long time and that had led to security, political, and economic problems. The revolution has exerted major efforts, especially the effort to resolve the issue of shari'ah [Islamic law] and of reforming society, the economic reform issue, and the national defense issue, by way of popular defense and conscription.

"The third part of the conferences' agenda concerns local issues. This part can be drafted on initiatives by state administrators and governors or by the conferences themselves."

#### Press Conference Questions

[Kamal Hamid from London's AL-WASAT [as published] magazine] We would like a clarification on the rumors about detentions. Will there be immunity or protection in the Preliminary Conferences?

[al-Bashir] We insist on free dialogue and on full protection for members of the Preliminary Conferences. The same protection and immunity given the National Council members will be guaranteed unconditionally to the conferences' members. The media will be able to participate in the mobilization. If any unhealthy manifestations develop, the media should draw attention to them.

I reaffirm that there will be no precautionary arrest, except by law and by the judiciary, and there will be no arbitrary measures against any individual. No defendant will remain in detention for more than three days, with a clarification of the reasons for his arrest by the judiciary to make sure that no torture is used. A defendant will have the right to appeal to the National Security Council.

[Fath-al-Rahman al-Nahhas from AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH] In light of the political coup and of the tendency toward consultation and democracy, you want the media to have a role in the new phase. But in your latest speech, you characterized the media as being sick.

[al-Bashir] The treatment and the cure are in the hands of the people involved in the profession. There is no ban and no censorship of the press. We haven't questioned anybody who has expressed a differing opinion. We seek to invigorate the media, especially television, so that they will perform their mission.

[Mu'awiyah Yasin from London's AL-HAYAH] Can the political system accommodate platforms internally? What is the role of the unions and the press in these conferences?

[al-Bashir] As you know, the parties are dissolved. Free expression is guaranteed from within the conference, without any fanaticism, partisanship, tribalism, or regionalism. Through the system, we seek to develop true national unity. No conference member will be questioned about his previous political affiliation. Anybody who has reached the age of 18 is entitled to participate. The oath taken by the National Council calls for steering away from all partisan, tribal, and racial inclination.

As for unions, there are sectoral unions. According to the new law, a union will be created by free election. The State Sectoral Conferences include economic, youth, student, and women's conferences; and the National Conferences include diplomatic, law and justice, security

and defense, and administrative conferences. Unions are a genuine part of the political structure.

[Nur-al-Din Madani from AL-KHALIJ newspaper bureau] What is the status of the People's Committees in the new structure?

[al-Bashir] The elected new committees will replace the old ones. This will be done by elevation.

[Makki Muhammad Makki from AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH] The media are not keeping up with the phase because of resources. Is there a tendency toward an independent press?

[al-Bashir] With promulgation of the Press and Publication Law, we will establish procedures so that we will have a free press that is not subject to the influences of foreign or domestic financing, because he who pays the fiddler calls the tune.

[Samih Sayyid from AL-INQADH AL-WATANI] The remnants of the opposition abroad are directly tied to the two major parties. Is there any guarantee that sectarianism will be kept out of the picture?

[al-Bashir] The people know the external opposition well because they had experience with its leaders when they were in power. This opposition doesn't bother us at all, because these leaders have become accustomed to feuding over subjective personal interests. This is the current predominant feature of the opposition. Its current division is over spoils or over who controls the sums paid to it. This opposition relies on foreign sources for its financing, meaning that it is a lackey opposition. If it is destined to attain power, the financier will present his bills and this will, of course, affect decision-making and freedom.

In our visits to all parts of Sudan, we haven't found a single sealed area in the north, south, east, or west. We will lead a campaign to educate the masses so that they will not be misled by religion and so that nobody will deceive them.

[Salah 'Allam from Middle East News Agency [MENA], Cairo] It is noted that the south has a large percentage of the representation in the National Council. If the conditions permit holding elections in the south, will the percentage be similar?

[al-Bashir] We have taken the south's condition into account in this representation. The National Council's concerns are national, not regional. As for elections, they will be held in the secure parts of the south.

Regarding the Revolutionary Command Council committees, they were disbanded with promulgation of the constitutional decree, in accordance with which the National Council was formed. The committees' powers and jurisdiction were transferred to the committees of the Transitional National Assembly.

[Ghazi al-Dib from Saudi Arabia News Agency [SANA]] We would like to know the developments in the south and the possibilities of peace.

[al-Bashir] The peace efforts continue and we expect good results.

[Musa Ya'qub from AL-INQADH AL-WATANI] Is there a ceiling for participation in the political system conferences? What I mean is: Can leaders such as Dr. Hasan al-Turabi participate in al-Manshiyyah conference, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi in al-Mulazimin, and Muhammad Riyadh Nuqud in al-Riyad conference? Can they participate in their personal capacity, not partisan capacity, of course?

[al-Bashir] There is no ban on any Sudanese, unless he has lost his eligibility or isolated himself.

[Khalid Musa from AL-MASIRAH] Are the Armed Forces represented in the National Council, and will they take part in the Security and Defense Conference because they [word illegible] the military and civilian regimes?

[al-Bashir] The conflict is not between military and civilian, but between traditional forces and modern forces. This was evident in the uprising which was led by the modern forces. It was feared that the traditional forces would steal this uprising. This fact was also evident in the debate on the election law and in the struggle of the modern forces. The Armed Forces are represented as part of society's modern forces, so the conflict can be ended.

[Sharif Salim from Egypt's AL-JUMHURIYAH] Why have no dates been set for the National Conference and for an elected National Council?

[al-Bashir] There are obstacles that make it difficult to set dates because the issue is tied to other elements, such as peace.

[Salah Muhammad Hasan from 30 JUNE] We would like your assessment of the political reform that has been accomplished.

[al-Bashir] The Preliminary Conferences will assess the reforms that have been accomplished. This experiment is open to assessment by all observers at home and abroad.

[Al-Nur Ahmad al-Nur from Jordan's AL-RIBAT] A conflict has developed over the conferences. For example, the governor of Shaykan issued a decree dissolving a people's committee and then the deputy governor decided to restore it. Which authority makes the decision on dissolving People's Committees?

[Brigadier General Hasan Hamadayn] The People's Committees and the conferences represent political leaderships. They are disbanded by the Preliminary Conference, which elects them with the approval of two-thirds

of the conference members. A governor has no right to disband them [without] referring to the Preliminary Conference.

### Former Party Leaders in National Assembly

92AF0569A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
28 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Mu'awiyah Yasin, 'Umar Muhammad al-Hasan: "Two Ummah, Sudanese Communist Party Leaders: 'We Entered Parliament by Own Choice']

[Text] Khartoum—Two leaders of the outlawed Sudanese political parties told AL-HAYAH that they had agreed to participate in the activities of the Transitional Interim National Assembly (Parliament) of their own will, without being subjected to pressure.

Retired Brig. Gen. Dr. Muhammad Mahjub 'Uthman, the official for foreign affairs in the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party, told AL-HAYAH after the assembly's special session yesterday, "I do not feel embarrassed toward anybody."

Party officials outside the country denied last week that 'Uthman, the brother of the party's former general secretary, 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub, whom the government of former President Ja'far Numayri executed in 1971, would participate in the parliament, all of whose members were appointed by Lt. Gen. 'Umar al-Bashir.

'Uthman said, "The actual facts prove that the denial was not true. Suffice it to say that I am in the assembly and speak before its main chamber."

Furthermore, Mr. Mahmud al-Hilu, former director of the Ummah Party's general office and a member in the current parliament, said that he had accepted his appointment as a member in the assembly of his own will: "I received an invitation to participate (in the assembly), and I accepted it by my own desire, choice, and conviction." Answering a question about opposition charges that the current assembly would approve the laws that the National Islamic Front [NIF] wanted to impose on the people, al-Hilu said: "Let's suppose the government had not announced the formation of the assembly. Would the NIF have found any obstacle to passing whatever laws it wants?"

Some party people who asked that their names not be revealed said they did not believe that party representation in the current parliament was enough to make the government appear as "really open."

The new parliament includes 41 deputies who are members of the Ummah Party, headed by former prime minister Mr. al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, and a number of leaders of the Democratic Unionist Party [DUP], led by Mr. Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani. However, a large number of the new deputies belong to the NIF, led by Dr.

Hasan al-Turabi. Parliament also includes a number of supporters of the regime of former President Ja'far Numayri.

### Opposition Leaders Could Lose Passports

92AF0569B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
26 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by 'Umar Muhammad al-Hasan: "Sudanese Government Prepares To Withdraw Opponents' Passports"]

[Excerpt] Khartoum—AL-HAYAH has learned from official sources that the Sudanese Government is preparing to take measures concerning a group of Sudanese citizens [overseas] who rally round the banner of opposition organizations. Although the sources did not reveal the nature of the measures, informed circles stated they would include withdrawing the Sudanese passports used by these citizens.

"The government," said a Sudanese official, "has given these opposition figures full opportunity to return to their country and abandon their hostile activity, particularly inasmuch as political channels in Sudan afford them an opportunity to express their views without restriction or prohibition." He noted that Mr. al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, the former prime minister, and Mr. 'Umar Nur-al-Da'im, the former finance minister, had openly expressed their views in the official newspapers and that their interviews had been published in full. He also said that the Transitional National Assembly (Parliament), which opened its activities two days ago, includes party figures who are supporters of the various political parties.

He drew attention to calls by Sudanese President Lieutenant General 'Umar al-Bashir for opposition figures to return to Sudan and his announcement of a full amnesty, including even elements who had borne arms against the government. [passage omitted]

### Popular Conferences Decreed, Discussed

#### Bylaws Issued

92AF0565A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 21 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Salim 'Uthman: "Bylaws on Political Conferences Issued"]

[Text] Lt. Gen. 'Umar al-Bashir, prime minister and chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, yesterday ratified the 1992 bylaws on political conferences.

Dr. al-Mukashifi Taha al-Kabashi, member of the secretariat of the National Conference for National Salvation, said that the bylaws govern the formation of technical committees to handle initial preparations for conferences and relevant procedural matters by selecting the chairmen and secretariats of preliminary conferences

and by electing the popular committees. The bylaws also deal with elevating preliminary conferences into higher conferences, such as the conference of councils.

Dr. al-Kabashi also said that six members would be elevated at each conference with a membership of 400 or more. Eight members [would be elevated] at conferences with memberships in the 400-600 range. A maximum of 24 members, according to the bylaws, may be elevated at conferences with memberships in excess of 7,000.

He added that the bylaws define procedures for the election of chairmen for provincial, regional, and national conferences; and set the number of members to be elevated at each of them. They also set the duration of sessions at two years for preliminary conferences, and at four years for all others.

### **Praise, Criticism Voiced**

92AF0565B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 5 March 92  
pp 1, 4

[Report from Khartoum by Mu'awiyah Yasin: "al-Bashir: System of Popular Conferences Is Model for Bonding Religion With State"]

[Text] Sudanese President Lt. Gen. 'Umar Hasan al-Bashir described the system of "popular conferences" adopted by his government as a political organization, as "a plan that Sudan offers humanity as a model for full bonding between religion and state, and as an example of the Islamic option's ability to create a modern state". Nevertheless, he closed the door tightly against what he termed "partisan, tribal, and racial dogmatism." He sharply attacked Sudanese opposition leaders abroad, but a leader of the democratic regime overthrown by Gen. al-Bashir told AL-HAYAH that "there is no freedom or human rights in Sudan."

The Sudanese president held a press conference yesterday, at which he announced that his government has scheduled 2 May to begin convening popular conferences for its new political organization modelled after the Libyan experience, and that "no Sudanese citizen is restricted from participating in the "political process," which he said would "create equilibrium among traditional and modern forces without the conflicts that prevailed during the previous partisan experience."

He mentioned that preliminary popular conferences would be held throughout the north and in "all secure regions of the south." Local council conferences are to be held no later than mid-June, to be followed in July by governorate-level conferences. He pointed out that conference members would be granted immunity similar to parliamentary immunity in order that they may "express all their views without restriction or condition. There will be no arbitrary arrests."

However, Mr. Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayn, deputy secretary general of the outlawed Democratic Union Party (who was deputy prime minister and foreign minister

before al-Bashir assumed power in 1989) told AL-HAYAH at his Khartoum residence that there is no freedom in the country and "even though I voice my views in the privacy of my living room, I cannot express them anywhere else. As a matter of fact, I don't know if I will remain free after making this statement!"

He emphasized that "there is no justice, democracy, or rights, as I experienced twice in the regime's jails. As a lawyer, I am of the opinion that there is no independent judiciary in Sudan, since everything in the country is controlled by the security apparatus, which serves only a specific entity." He was alluding to the National Islamic Front.

Gen. al-Bashir emphasized at his press conference that political parties have been dissolved and that those who wish to participate in the political process must "take an oath of non-allegiance to any partisan, tribal, or racial dogma." He attacked opposition leaders abroad, saying that "they do not worry us because they habitually struggle over their [narrow] interests. Their infighting and quarrels are actually over dividing the funds they are paid by foreign entities." He described them as agents.

Al-Husayn said, however, that there is no relationship between the external opposition and internal opposition, and warned that rumors of infighting within the opposition "can only serve the interests of the regime." He said that talk of partisan reform without overthrowing the current regime serves to "support, sustain, and aid the regime." He added that "partisan reorganization can not be attained outside Sudan."

As to the new political organization's nominees' chances for success in regions that continue to vote for specific parties, Gen. al-Bashir said that he has travelled the length and width of Sudan and has "found no region closed to the two major parties." He added that his government is intensifying its efforts to educate the citizenry "so that they may pledge allegiance to God and not to lords and masters."

Al-Husayn, on the other hand, admitted that mistakes were made and warned against "future mistakes." He said that the democratic experience in the country is very young and that the survival of pluralism will depend on passing explicit laws to govern parties and general conference schedules; devising comprehensive plans to solve the country's problems; and regulating media operations and financing. "We will not guarantee that Sudan will advance a single inch in the absence of plurality and democracy."

Al-Husayn told AL-HAYAH that he has been tortured since he was arrested last August and released in November 1991 without being charged or tried. He explained that he finds no problem with the regime being both secular and Islamist. He accused the current government of making an issue of that point and said that "the regime, while it claims to implement Islamic law [shari'ah], is merely exploiting the religious fervor of the citizenry."

But Gen. al-Bashir said at the press conference that his political organization aims at "self-reliance. It is a plan we offer humanity as a model for complete bonding between religion and state. It proves that the Islamic option is capable of creating a modern state rooted in faith and knowledge."

He announced that the curfew, imposed since he assumed power, will begin at midnight instead of 11 pm. He added that his government wishes to lift the curfew but "felt that there is popular demand for its continuation." He did not explain how his government arrived at that conclusion.

### Focus on Displaced Persons, Shantytowns

#### Ration Cards for Displaced

92AF0567A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 22 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Salim 'Uthman]

[Text] The al-Salam camps in the Governorate of Omdurman were inspected by the acting commissioner for refugees, the housing minister in the State of Khartoum, the governor of Khartoum, the governor of Omdurman, a number of governors from governorates in the southern provinces, the executive director of the Islamic Call [al-Da'wah] Organization, and the general secretary of the Youth of the Homeland [shabbab al-watani] Organization.

Dr. Sharaf-al-Din Banqa, the housing minister in the State of Khartoum, stated that the visit was made to disprove rumors circulated by some Western media agencies regarding the conditions of refugees and attempts by Muslims to coercively convert them to Islam by offering them aid.

Al-Fatih 'Izz-al-Din, the secretary general of the Youth of the Homeland Organization, told AL-INQADH AL-WATANI that the visit to refugee camps is intended to gain an understanding of their conditions. He said that the visit confirmed the falsehood and lies of the Western media.

A number of camp leaders expressed their pleasure with the officials' visit to their camps. They said that their citizens are living in conditions that are better than those in which they were living before their forced migration to the camps in Dar al-Salam. However, they called on the authorities to provide transportation from their villages to the city.

AL-INQADH AL-WATANI noted two drilling rigs being used to dig wells in the refugee camps. Also, the Islamic Call Organization, the Islamic African Aid Agency, and the Sudanese Red Crescent are active among the refugees.

The Youth of the Homeland Organization has reportedly undertaken a large campaign in the Governorate of

Omdurman to count the citizens in the villages around the city of Dar al-Salam, to pave the way for granting ration cards to families. All accesses to the city were closed off from dawn to dusk to permit an accurate census.

#### Schools for Displaced

92AF0567B Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH  
in Arabic 22 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Salah al-Fikki]

[Text] The high commission tasked with studying the situation of refugee students has prepared an integrated plan to absorb refugee students in schools in the State of Khartoum. The commission submitted its report to the governor of the state to pave the way for the implementation and supervision of the plan. The report emphasizes: providing refugee students with the same educational opportunities enjoyed by students in the north; creating a citizenship [muwatinah] climate appropriate to them; and granting teachers in the refugees' schools the same rights and privileges enjoyed by their colleagues in other schools. The report states that the commission's goal is to absorb refugee students.

According to the report, seven high schools for refugees have absorbed male and female students who have passed the middle-school matriculation test administered in the state-owned schools. This year, the high-school freshman class was not accepted at the Maridi Girls' School for refugees and the al-[Amatong] Boys' School for refugees [due to flooding]. The commission recommended draining the two schools by damming their wells.

The report states that there are 16 middle schools for refugees, all coeducational. The commission recommended maintaining the status quo regarding all classes in 1991-1992, with the same state administrations to which they have been subordinate, with the understanding that students will take the middle-school matriculation test in 1992-1993 under the supervision of the Sudan Tests Administration. The commission submitted a number of other recommendations regarding the middle school and elementary levels. There are 128 schools for refugees, distributed according to organizational affiliation as follows: 20 schools of the Islamic Call Organization, eight of the Aid Organization, 66 schools of the archdiocese, four of the councils of priests, eight of the Committee of Muslims of Africa, 18 of the states and the episcopate, two of the churches, and two national schools. There are 33,852 students in the schools. The commission recommended instituting the second-shift system in several state elementary schools, and the construction of new schools to absorb several existing schools.

This commission was formed by resolution of the cabinet.



### End for Shantytowns

92AF0567C Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH  
in Arabic 21 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] The shanties [tin shacks] are situated in the heart of Khartoum in a large, homely heap. All governments have been dissatisfied with them. However, they have been unable to uproot them or even approach their perimeters. Some have even said that these shanties have magical powers that protect them from demolition.

The revolution government has decided to eliminate them. According to Dr. Sharaf-al-Din Banqa, the housing minister in the State of Khartoum, these shanties are ruining the urban environment. It has therefore been decided to transfer them to the new city of al-Azhari in Khartoum and to compensate their residents with larger land plots.

Dr. Banqa told AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH that the relocation of the shanties will be completed before 30 November 1992, and that 1992 will see the end of unplanned housing in Khartoum. The capital will then be able to breathe naturally and enjoy health, neon [as published] lights, and water services.

He added that it has also been decided to focus the scales of justice on unplanned luxury housing in west al-Jarif. "Unplanned luxury housing, despite its nice architecture and furniture, is no less ugly than modest unplanned housing. Both have stolen Khartoum's true face, and clearly represent an illegal encroachment on state lands that must be remedied." Therefore, Dr. Banqa signed and issued a resolution on unplanned luxury housing.

### Cabinet Resolution

In reference to Cabinet Order No. 59 of 1990 and its annexes pertaining to a comprehensive, complete, and final settlement regarding unplanned luxury housing in west al-Jarif, and based on the recommendations of the commission tasked with studying the matter, the following resolution was issued:

1. The appointment of Judge Taj-al-Sirr Babakir Sa'id as officer for the settlement.
2. The effectuation of the settlement based on the recommendations of the commission tasked with studying the area [of unplanned housing], pursuant to the rules and regulations observed in the ministry with respect to persons who possess agricultural rights or real estate, based on the recovery of the state's full rights from violators and the termination of the spread of unplanned housing, as follows:
  - Residential plots shall be between 400 square meters [sq m] and 600 sq m.
  - If roofed buildings occupy more than 600 sq m, they shall be treated as two plots, up to a maximum area of 1,200 sq m.
  - Any deeds exceeding the maximum limit shall be

seized for the benefit of the state, which shall dispose of them as it wishes.

- Regarding public-use property and private property, settlement shall be effected on the basis of [apportioning] 7 percent and 21 percent respectively of the area [in question] to the owner of such property. The state shall thereupon acquire its due, which shall be 93 percent and 79 percent respectively, at the market price.
- The opening of main and side streets based on the plan approved for the area.
- The opening of the 20-meter and 45-meter [wide] streets contained on all planning maps for the growth of Khartoum prepared in 1962.
- The remedying of rights to possessions and walls shall be left to the settlement judge.
- The area [of unplanned housing] shall be subject to a fine for administrative violations arising from the transformation of the land from agricultural into residential land, and from unauthorized construction. The fine shall equal 93 percent of the value of the building at the current price. Ten percent of that fine shall be a revenue for the Housing Ministry and Public Utilities to offset the expense of extending the ministry's authority to control urban growth. Five percent of the fine shall be allocated to remedy social problems in the area.

God is our recourse.

[Signed] Dr. Sharaf-al-Din Banqa

### Refugees: Go Home

92AF0567D Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 20 Feb 92 p 3

[Commentary by Mirghani Hasan 'Ali]

[Text] A federation simply means that each state in Sudan will "scratch its own back." In other words, the people of each state will manage their own affairs themselves, albeit in the framework of a unified Sudan, of course.

The federal system of government, which has now begun to be implemented, will not achieve any appreciable success or make any progress on the right road if two matters are not achieved.

The first is the consummation of a positive phenomenon that Sudan is now seeing for the first time, i.e., the participation of ordinary citizens, in addition to the various specialists, in the formulation of realistic development plans in the governorate of each state. In this regard, each state should have its own plan, and funding for these development plans should be set aside. This, of course, does not conflict with the 10-year centralized plan, which concerns large production and service projects.

The second matter concerns arranging the return of migrants to their states. The mobilization of these

people, upon their return to their states, to carry out development plans will breathe new life into the listless states. Such a return can be accomplished through persuasion, without harming the citizen's right to free movement. The return should embrace not only the masses that have migrated to the capital for compelling reasons and were settled in the village of al-Salam and others, but also professionals, such as physicians, engineers, agronomists, teachers, and others. These professionals are needed more to revive their states than they are needed in Khartoum.

These remarks may seem blasphemous, but they are true. When has the truth been palatable? If Khartoum was once a milk cow, it no longer is. Its udders have gone dry and cannot sustain additional new arrivals from the states and the countries surrounding us. Every capability has its limits, and every beginning has an end.

For example, if the factories built in Khartoum during the 17 November period and the May period were to absorb the unskilled, cheap manpower now yearning for jobs, there would no longer be one inch in which to build new industrial zones in Khartoum.

Perhaps if these factories could exploit modern technology, then they could dispense with much of the manpower that they currently absorb. That day will come inevitably, if we look beyond the immediate future.

Khartoum's arable land is a drop in the bucket compared with the fertile land in the states, whose residents are squeezing into Khartoum. The fertile land in the states is almost saying to Khartoum: Pity you, I have what you lack—fertile soil, groundwater, forests, and livestock resources. Even women work alongside men in the fields, unlike the women of Khartoum.

Schools, hospitals, and universities have been concentrated mainly in Khartoum. However, these services can no longer absorb the growing load. Hence, the recent trend has been to transfer these services to the states and to establish universities there.

These are just examples. They confirm that most of the refugees are entering into marginal, parasitic activities, and are a terrible burden on the budget for services, food, and beverage, without contributing to this budget. Their return to their states is an important impetus for economic development in Sudan. Development plans in the states have become the main national battle. Every citizen must contribute his physical and mental energy to winning this battle.

#### Experiences of the Past

We can perhaps learn much from past experiences regarding centralized and decentralized governments and issues related to production and services.

In the period of centralized, British colonial rule, the application of the Closed Areas Law in the south isolated

the south from the north. Strangely, despite this policy's damaging and unacceptable colonial goal, it was nonetheless able to create a certain degree of production activity among the southerners, especially in agriculture.

In other provinces in Sudan, the British administration imposed a type of "forced labor" on the people. After each autumn, the British administration compelled them to repair roads and clear brush in preparation for the planting of crops. Such a forced, en masse levy was humiliating. However, it resulted in high agricultural yields.

At the same time, people also banded together of their own free will during the sowing and harvest seasons. Each family would plant and harvest a small plot. Everyone would join hands when necessary to perform a large collective task or to help a needy family.

This primitive economy plays a major role in production for self-sufficiency.

With time, the Sudanese countryside witnessed, alongside the natural economy and the traditional economy, the entry of capitalism into agricultural production through pump irrigation and the spread of private cotton projects, followed by mechanized agriculture. There was something resembling stability.

However, with time, the disasters came in succession: the drop in agricultural production in the provinces due to the low returns which agriculture offered; migration to the capital and large cities; drought; desertification; the war in the south; the destructive hemorrhaging; the migration to the capital of people from neighboring African countries, where post-independence wars and conflicts, drought, desertification, and famine have been taking their toll in displaced persons, causing them to migrate to Sudan.

Decentralized rule during the November rule period was unable to generate agricultural development in the provinces, despite the efforts outlined in the 10-year plan.

Decentralized government in the provincial rule of the May period, despite efforts to establish important development programs and infrastructure, was unable to achieve the stability so desired in Sudan's provinces.

I remember well that, when the May government began to take a census of professionals from the provinces in preparation for relocating them to work in their places of birth, we at the AL-SAHFAH newspaper, through investigative reporting, discovered that many people from the provinces at Khartoum University resorted to obtaining age estimate certificates to "prove" that they were born in Omdurman, Khartoum, and Northern Khartoum, and thus escape working in the provinces.

#### Guarantee of Success

The system of federal rule is now presenting itself for implementation. I believe that no one would be mistaken in thinking that its success depends on formulating and

funding a development plan for each province, and on the return of migrants to their states. Without that, it will be difficult to revive all of Sudan, and it will be impossible for Sudan to feed itself and to become a bread basket for the world, despite its enormous human and natural resources.

### Labor Support for National Assembly Cited

92AF0569D Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH in Arabic 20 Feb 92 p 9

[Article by Thana' Fadl 'Abd-al-Qadir: "Participation of Sectors in Context of Unity of Program and Unity of Masses"]

[Text] The issue of participation in power and the search for a political system that comprehends the values, principles, and aspirations of the Sudanese people remains the concern of all classes and sectors comprising this people. Therefore, when the National Salvation Revolution broke out and promised to turn over power to the people, all sectors supported it and all classes joined in the odyssey of building the political system that the people had instituted.

After the promise was fulfilled and the revolution turned over power, the different sectors continued to participate in the process of national reconstruction through their various union entities. They are still contributing, through their executive bodies or through their clear representation in the system of conferences and the Transitional National Assembly.

Thus, when trade unionists, as the largest sector, spoke to AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH after the formation of the Transitional National Assembly was announced, what they said was full, comprehensive, and candid. It embraced their cares, hopes, aspirations, and expectations for rebuilding the country. What did they say to us? Let us follow between the lines.

At the Supreme Federation of Trade Union Federations, Deputy General Secretary Hashim Ahmad al-Bashir spoke to us as follows:

"The trade union movement emerges from a nationalist origin. When its role first coalesced, it coalesced around the political problem and the struggle over political independence and building society, so as to realize justice and development. The movement continued to carry out this role uninterruptedly through all past historical stages. In the most recent liberal period, the labor movement specifically refused to participate in the liberal democratic system for a number of reasons. Most importantly, the form of liberalism itself does not bestow participation. Trade union participation is a matter of great complexity, especially as regards protecting the stability, independence, and freedom of unions. However, the system of People's Conferences and direct popular democracy creates the right atmosphere for trade unions to participate in this system, where there is unity of program and unity of the masses, these being the

first of the conditions needed for trade union participation. Since the outbreak of the National Salvation Revolution, which came as an expression of trade union appeals for settlement of the power issue through union participation in dialogue about the political system, the role of the trade unions and the basis for their participation have been defined through the sector conferences and preliminary conferences that drew together citizens, including the trade union masses. The latter are now working in all areas to participate with the other classes to complete the stage of building the political system.

"The establishment of the Transitional National Assembly according to the fifth constitutional edict comes as an important step in completing the bodies needed for a transition to the stage of building the constitution. The participation of the sectors, as was said in the resolution, comes as a great gain for the Sudanese trade union movement, as it sets out to bear its duties through real participation in the legislative apparatus and in building the political system. Our trade unions will support and uphold our masses. They will be a revolutionary arm that safeguards the experiment. God willing, they will bring it into the realms of positive achievement."

Next, for the Union of [Government] Employees, Teachers, Professionals, and Technicians, Mr. Fath-al-Rahman al-Fadilabi, vice president of the union, spoke to us as follows:

"Participation by the trade unions and various sectors in the system of conferences and in power is not participation in the ordinary sense. It is participation through the institutions of those who are in charge of them [the trade unions]. Thus, the representation of these sectors in the system of conferences is real representation. Through the local neighborhood, I do not represent a particular sector. However, within my sector I represent my trade union and affirm two sectors. I pass into or join the National Assembly only through channels. This, consequently, is a real touchstone of democracy and consequently for the classes. Sector representation is more representative of the poor and downtrodden classes. Through geographical constituencies, we bring in those who rule by clan, tribe, and influence, but through sectors there is real representation. Furthermore, parliaments bring in individuals through political parties; and everyone knows that the trade union movement was not a party and was not accustomed to being partisan. Being a party, to our mind, lies in the sector and is for the class that the sector represents and for preserving it. The trade union movement's characterization of the previous parliamentary system is that the political party had control. The party head was the one who had control, so the trade union movement avoided participating. Everybody knows that some members of the trade union movement were nominated in the past for ministerial posts, but declined. The one trade unionist appointed as a minister resigned after a few months. However, through the new system of sectors and trade unions, the basis of real presence in the system is political, not party-based. We

have no objection to geographical constituencies, which sometimes bring in many prominent personalities. However, the form of the state participation by the sectors is important. Let me not forget to say that under the May regime, there were some gleams, intentional or unintentional, of sector constituencies in the totalitarian regime. Thus, we hope that representation of sector constituencies will be effective and not marginal. We hope that, in the Transitional National Assembly, there will be real democracy and consultation, not slogans. We reject the process of becoming a party. We want participation to be effective and removed from external influences. If the Transitional National Assembly produces testaments and political party formation, it will not produce what is expected and desired.

"We do not oppose representation of rare and high abilities, from which society can benefit through the organs of the political system. Otherwise we all, ourselves and the others, shall be in the same boat."

Rajab Khamis, head of the Union of Workers of the Department of Stores and Supplies, spoke to us as follows:

"The system of People's Conferences as a political system brings about real participation through all constituencies and all the various conferences. In the previous parliamentary experiments, we were not allowed or able to participate, because we or you could participate only through forming political parties. The trade unions reject this. They continue to remain aloof from forming political parties. As I said, the Transitional National Assembly will, with God's permission, perform the constitutional role expected of it."

Mr. Hasan al-Tayyib, a member of the executive office of the Workers' Federation, spoke to us as follows:

"I affirm what Mr. al-Fadilabi and Mr. Rajab said about participation of the sectors in Sudan's political system. I also stress that our sectoral representation should be an effective representation that realizes participation, because the expected form of worker participation differs from the [word illegible] form. Representation ought to be through the federation and through the trade union. So we hope that the representation of members of the Transitional National Assembly, either in this temporary transitional form or the elected executive form, will be broad representation that represents all trade union sectors."

On behalf of the employees of the Tourism and Hotels Organization, Mr. Hasan Sharif, president of the General Union of Employees, spoke to us as follows:

"The different sectors are represented by percentages in the system of People's Conferences. This is a real expression of representing trade unions as modern forces participating in power. We are expressing our views in the Transitional National Assembly, or in the parliamentary body that has been created through a real vision of our actual concerns and the concerns of the citizen. This

participation is thus real and effective, for a union's reality and effectiveness come from its true participation. As the brothers have said, the political parties gave no opportunity for class and trade union representation as long as there was no separate representation for us as trade unions. However, under the May regime there was class participation. The difference is only in the seriousness of the work, inasmuch as the representation now is serious representation for serious work. I think all existing key figures should participate through the Transitional National Assembly. I hope the members of this assembly will keep away from formalities. They must be marked by self-denial and serious work."

Mr. Muhammad Babakr Muhammad al-Amin, general secretary of the General Union of Secretaries and Stock Clerks in Sudan, spoke as follows:

"In previous parliamentary systems, the real opinion of the trade unions and the union movement was not represented. All the political parties used to deal with the movement to gain from it politically in their moments of need. There were no special secretariats to pay attention to the trade union movement, so that it might participate in the democratic development that they were proclaiming. But, thank God, after the outbreak of the National Salvation Revolution and its orientation in the wake of the implementation of Islamic law [shari'ah] and realization of an integrated system of consultation and dialogue in which all popular entities participate with full freedom, the trade union movement had to play its role under this divinely-ordained system to firmly establish the trade union movement as the effective instrument of production and the moving force of the populace. So there was trade union participation in all the dialogue conferences that were held. The most recent of these was the conference on the political system. The unions participated in it to establish a political system based on consultation and on the unity of the Sudanese nation. Thus, the trade union movement is represented under this system through the people's economic and social sectors via the district conferences and the national conference. The trade union movement also has a role in the Transitional National Assembly to firmly establish a genuine Sudanese democracy that flows from our customs, traditions, and heritage. We hope the Transitional National Assembly will firmly establish the principle of popular participation through the entities and sectors that comprise the people, so that these can participate in building a state based on the principle of shari'ah and on the comprehensive resolutions and recommendations of the National Strategy Conference to build a state of honor and dignity."

Speaking for trade union women, Professor 'A'isha [Idam], head of the Secretariat for Membership Affairs of the Working Women's League, said to us:

"Along with the fact that the opportunity was not afforded to women themselves, women's lack of participation in previous parliamentary systems happened because, in the past, women did not take the initiative

and because they were afraid to enter the various kinds of trade union activity. Now, however, although their participation is weak, it represents a considerable presence at this time. We hope that with the political system participation will be greater, especially since it will take place through the various classes and groups—women engineers, teachers, journalists, and doctors—thereby creating an audible voice for women. Also, the Transitional National Assembly has set aside space for women. I believe women are capable of filling this area with untiring work and fruitful activity.

"Also, women have been given participation in general in the political system both as [individual] women and as a class within a sector. Their representation thus realizes part of women's aspirations. This is an unparalleled experiment, a unique experiment, because the political system now is a unique system and can therefore realize for women all their aspirations. As I said, women's participation in the political system or through the National Assembly is not in terms of a specific aspect or shade, but through their Sudanese nature. I hope the sisters participating in this assembly will be a shining face for Sudanese women. I hope they will be pioneering women for the entire world in this our unique experiment."

Finally, Professor Amal 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Uthman, from the Organization of Youth of the Nation, spoke to us about youth participation in the political system:

"Young people never had a role vis-a-vis their responsibilities like the one that has been created for them in the system of people's conferences. They were sidelined and banished from effective participation in all the different parliamentary systems. Their only role was through the vehicle of the political parties. However, the system of conferences has granted them a definite percentage that makes clear their vanguard role. Today's generation represents the whole future. Thus, real, effective participation and a clear, tangible quantity have come about. This gives young people a challenge and a major responsibility in building a state based on science and faith and participating in building. I should not forget to say that the transitional national assembly has granted to all sectors, including young people, a larger opportunity to express opinion, advice, and counsel, thereby affirming youth's seriousness and commitment to affirming its pioneering role in building the fatherland. May the youth movement continue to be a great support for building the state of Sudan through the Sudanese system and its various sectors."

#### **New Labor Regulations Issued, Praised**

92AF0569C Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 23 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Muzamil 'Abd-al-Ghaffar: "Union Organizations Dissolved"]

[Text] Pursuant to the new Labor Organizations Act of 1992, all union organizations were dissolved yesterday,

and a provisional body was formed to oversee creation of the new provisional committees under the leadership of Taj-al-Sirr 'Abidun and five others.

All funds belonging to the federations and unions were sequestered, various buildings were surrendered and taken over, and all forms of union subsidies were canceled.

The new law contains important cultural gains that ensure freedom and protection of union activity. The edifice stands on the foundation of the National General Union and representation of the district federations in the conference of the General Federation of Workers. The law makes membership a right of the worker, rather than of the union committees. It gives organizations the right to establish funds for mutual responsibility or social services. It settles the question of union subsidies, as it includes union organizations. The provisional body has been created to avoid any gap and to complete the arrangements for fully establishing the new union organizations.

In a related matter, al-Sadiq 'Ata-al-Mannan, general secretary of the Supreme Council of Union Federations and general secretary of the general staff of the General Federation of Workers, issued a decision that the special classes housing committees and their specialized subcommittees would continue to exist, and that the subcommittees of the High Committee To Support Production Projects would also continue to exist. He invited the new organization to a meeting to be held this morning.

[Boxed item]

#### **AL-INQADH Editorial: The Labor Organizations Act**

The National Salvation Revolution continues its steps on the path to rescuing the country from the abyss, fulfilling its promises. Yesterday all union organizations were dissolved, and a body was formed to supervise the creation of new provisional committees as a first step toward implementing the resolutions of the Conference on Union Dialogue.

Union activity was a priority to which the National Salvation Revolution gave precedence, from faith in its role in the production cycle. One may say that the relation between the unions and the Salvation Revolution has been given a foundation, thereby hurdling all the thorny barriers and pitfalls that were a prominent characteristic of government-union relations under defunct regimes. Government-union relations had sunk so low that they directly affected production and indeed killed the concept of work for many people. The old union structure made it easy to sink into a whirlpool of never-ending demands.

The new provisional committees come in circumstances quite different from their predecessors in many ways. The country has defined its identity and brought about its resurgence. Signs of development have appeared in many places. People now understand the meaning of

work and production and appreciate the value of time. The new law fully provides the opportunity for work and production to improve employee conditions by giving employees the right to establish mutual responsibility funds, provide services, and establish productive projects. This is enough for improvement of workers' conditions to happen in a way that differs from the formerly prevailing path of demands, from which the country and workers reaped only greater suffering.

The new Labor Organizations Act is a step forward on the road of work and production.

### Student Demonstrations, Government Reactions

#### Protest Price Increases

92AF0477A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
10 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by 'Uthman Mirghani: "Bread Boycott in Some Neighborhoods, Women Petition Government; Security Surrounds Khartoum University, Demonstrations Continue"]

[Text] Popular demonstrations in the Sudanese capital continued yesterday, particularly in Omdurman and its environs, while Khartoum University students staged sit-ins at university buildings surrounded by security forces.

Meanwhile, Cairo University-Khartoum Branch students went out in demonstrations for the third consecutive day to protest the recent economic resolutions.

Informed sources in Khartoum and Omdurman told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the Cairo University students chanted anti-government slogans against the recent price hikes and cost-of-living increases, clashing with the secret and emergency police, who confronted them in streets near university buildings.

These sources did not rule out the possibility of the government closing the university, should the demonstrations continue, emphasizing that popular and student demonstrations continued yesterday in some neighborhoods in the capital, in Omdurman and Madinat al-Thawrah [Revolution City] in particular.

They added that the Omdurman demonstrations included students and women, and focused on denouncing economic resolutions and price hikes.

Yesterday and two days ago, new forms of protests emerged when citizens in some poorer neighborhoods refused to buy their rations of bread, on which the government had raised the price from 50 to 125 piasters [1/100th of a Sudanese pound] for a lighter-weight loaf. Sources who spoke to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT said that popular committee officials in these neighborhoods threatened to withhold sugar rations from any protester who refuses to buy bread.

Moreover, women in some neighborhoods began preparing petitions and collecting signatures to submit to the authorities to underline their rejection of price hikes.

Informed Sudanese sources said that security and police estimates indicated that about 150,000 to 250,000 people took part in the demonstrations over the last two days throughout the capital, while demonstrations in Madinat al-Thawrah were estimated at about 30,000.

These sources pointed out that demonstrations also broke out in al-Sahafah, al-[Duyum], al-[Kalakilah], and Sa'd Qishrah neighborhoods.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that the Khartoum University student sit-ins evolved in the wake of the crisis that broke out two days ago when university director Prof. Ma'mun Hamidah issued an order to expel seven students on charges of disrupting exams, undermining law and order, and provoking university guards.

These students had clashed with university guards who tried to stop them from entering the campus because they had been expelled, along with other union members, following the incidents that erupted on campus last September.

The expelled students are Muhammad Ibrahim, 'Umar Siddiq Ahmad, Abu-Zur 'Umar al-Nur, Fayiz Mustafa, 'Ali Balal Bashir, Mahjub Hasan Hamad, and Muhammad al-Nil Yusuf.

Student representatives met with the university director to demand the reinstatement of their expelled colleagues and to unfreeze the student union. Student sources said the director promised to consider the students' demands if they agreed to revise the union's constitution to preclude political activities. The students, however, rejected this condition and gave the university management 48 hours to reply to their demands or else "they would resort to other measures."

As the situation grew more tense and the students staged sit-ins, emergency and secret police forces surrounded university buildings.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT yesterday received a communique in the name of the General Union of Sudanese Customs Officers calling on customs employees "to strike, revolt, and join the Sudanese people to overthrow the [National Islamic] Front's military regime."

#### Boycott Examinations

92AF0477B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
16 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Kamal Hamid: "Security Forces Storm Khartoum University Following Dispute over Exam Dates"]

[Text] The security situation on the Khartoum University campus, which was stormed by security forces, has deteriorated, and student demonstrations are expected to be stepped up today (Sunday).

Sudanese security forces, yesterday and the day before, stormed the Khartoum University campus to restore order after the dispute intensified between the students and university director Prof. Ma'mun Hamidah, who issued instructions to start final examinations yesterday. Students demanding a postponement forced their way into the examination room at the Faculty of Arts and tore up the tests.

Prof. Hamidah immediately decided to move the examinations outside the main campus, choosing the following three locations: the World University of Africa (formerly the Islamic Center), the extreme south of Khartoum; the Holy Koran University in Omdurman; and the Police Academy in the Burri suburb, east of Khartoum. He announced that the university was furnishing transportation to these three centers.

#### Student Union

The student union announced that 91 percent of its general assembly members voted in favor of boycotting the examinations, but the university administration maintained its contention that at least 3,000 students didn't take part in the student union's referendum. The administration accused the union of employing violence to force students to boycott the examinations and of taking away their university ID cards, thus compelling the university director to broadcast a communique on the state-owned television station early Friday night, in which he said that the presentation of an ID card was not mandatory for entering the examination rooms.

AL-HAYAH has learned that student union leaders occupied university dormitories to prevent students from going out to take the examinations yesterday, forcing Prof. Hamidah to call the police. This inflamed union leaders, who called upon their colleagues to demonstrate inside the university campus to denounce the administration. Demonstrations lasted until Saturday evening amid speculations that things would come to a head today (Sunday), but no casualties have been reported.

#### Coup Rumors

The beginning of a test broadcast on a Sudanese state-owned radio station gave rise to rumors amidst Sudanese expatriates in the Gulf and West Europe about a military coup occurring, but the secretary general of the Sudanese Information [and Culture] Ministry explained to AL-HAYAH that the broadcast, directed at Sudanese expatriates in the Gulf, shall continue for a week before becoming a regularly-scheduled broadcast.

Sudanese expatriates in Arab Gulf countries had suddenly tuned in the Sudanese radio station broadcasting patriotic songs and military music, giving rise to rumors about a military coup, which soon spread by phone, reaching Sudanese workers in Europe.

#### Test Broadcast

AL-HAYAH received telephone inquiries yesterday from Athens and Amsterdam about events in Sudan, but Mr. Amin Hasan 'Umar, secretary general of the Ministry of Information and Culture, explained to AL-HAYAH that the state radio station had begun a test broadcast from a 1,500-megawatt booster station in the Central Province.

He said that the station broadcasts military music and anthems, as well as news features, and that it will continue this trial broadcast for one week before going into a regular daily transmission from 0700 to 0900, Sudanese local time.

#### Al-Turabi Brother Involved

92AF0477C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
20 Feb 92 p 5

[Article: "Turabi's Brother Leads Khartoum University Demonstration"]

[Text] Prof. Dafa'allah al-Turabi, Khartoum University lecturer in the Faculty of Engineering—and brother of Dr. Hasan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front that backs the Sudanese regime—led a procession of Khartoum University professors, calling upon the university director to reinstate the expelled students and to allow the student union to resume normal activities. It was noted that some professors belonging to the influential Islamic tendency took part in the procession, which represents the pinnacle of protests against the policies of its new director, Prof. Ma'mun Hamidah.

Hamidah had broadcast a communique two days ago explaining developments at the university. He said the students tore up the tests and launched repeated attacks on university warehouses and private offices on campus. He threatened to expel many students on grounds that "those who shun the exams, shun the university as well," as he put it.

He pointed out that he was compelled to call in the police to help rescue students detained by their colleagues in the dormitories to prevent them from taking the examinations, stipulating that police commanders remove their weapons before breaking into student quarters. He said that examinations are now proceeding normally, and stated that he had commissioned a committee, chaired by 'Abd-al-'Aziz [Shudu] al-Muhami, a member of the new Sudanese parliament, to draft a new student union constitution. He believes, however, that this will foment more unrest inside the university, which is the largest institution of higher learning in the country.



### Police Close University

92AF0477D London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
21 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by 'Uthman Mirghani in London and Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah in Jiddah: "Liquidation of Khartoum University Considered, Omdurman State University Closed"]

[Text] Sudanese authorities announced the closure of Omdurman State University because of student unrest and the clashes it witnessed in the last few days, which led to many injuries and the alleged death of one student.

Groups of pro-National Islamic Front and anti-National Islamic Front students clashed on the university campus for the last four days over differences about the election of a new student union. These clashes were described as violent, during which Molotov cocktails, sticks, and caustic acids were used, inflicting an unspecified number of various injuries. Whereas students reported the death of one colleague during the clashes, contacts by AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT with medical and academic sources failed to turn up any specific information on this. Conflicting accounts ranged between claims that a student had been killed or seriously injured and transferred from Omdurman Hospital to an unknown destination.

At Khartoum University, university director Prof. Ma'mun Hamidah issued a communique published in the official AL-INQAZ [AL-WATANI, NATIONAL SALVATION] newspaper yesterday in response to the student union's statement. In it, he refuted a faculty statement, saying that over 75 percent of the students took the examinations and that he had not received any faculty resignations.

Following their statement, in which they criticized Prof. Hamidah and urged him to lift the ban on student union activities and to reinstate the expelled students, Khartoum University professors told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that, should the director fail to meet their demands, their next step would be mass resignations.

On the other hand, Academic Affairs secretary Dr. Hamid Mustafa was quoted as saying that student examinations would be resumed next Saturday on campus, despite the student boycott.

Academic sources said that behind the Sudanese authorities' determination to follow their policies on Khartoum University students, and their adherence to resolutions related to room and board and examinations, is a strong and well-considered tendency to put an end to Khartoum University as an institution of higher learning, and to turn it into colleges of higher learning offering master's and doctorate degrees and diplomas.

These sources went on to say that this tendency apparently is being considered as one of the options that the authorities are studying to grapple with the crisis. They are also considering another option, namely, to go on

with the examinations and expel anyone who boycotts them, regardless of the number.

Academic sources, however, said these two options would not solve the problem at Khartoum University, or any other university, for that matter, such as Omdurman State University or the University of Cairo-Khartoum Branch, but would further complicate it and perhaps even ignite the situation.

### Reactions to Unrest at Khartoum University

#### No Exemptions for Exams

92AF0568A Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH  
in Arabic 20 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by 'Allam 'Umar: "75 Percent of Students Take Exams; Rules Applied to Absentees"]

[Text] Professor Mamun Muhammad Humaydah, the director of Khartoum University, stressed the university administration's determination to hold examinations in all colleges, in accordance with the programmed schedule, emphasizing that there was no recourse to this decision.

Professor Humaydah told AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH that any student who is absent from the examinations without an official excuse will have all the valid university rules and regulations applied to him, including final dismissal from the university.

The professor added that the exams are being conducted in an excellent manner in all centers, pointing out that the percentage of students who have sat for examinations during the last few days is over 75 percent.

Professor Humaydah stated that all examinations centers at police headquarters and the World University of Africa will be shifted to Khartoum University, beginning Saturday, 22 February 1992. He called on students' legal guardians to fulfill their responsibilities to their children and advise them of the consequences of their not taking the examinations. He explained that the university administration has not used force to compel any student to take exams.

The professor denied all rumors that have been circulated by certain quarters to the effect that the police had forcibly entered female student dormitories, emphasizing that these allegations have no basis in fact.

The director of Khartoum University denounced the irresponsible conduct by a certain group of students. He stated that this behavior was not in keeping with the dignity of the university. He added that the university administration was committed to ensuring tranquility for all students who wish to take the examinations.

Professor Humaydah praised the extensive efforts that have been made by the university faculty, and their strong stand behind the administration to bolster stability in the university.



In a related item, labor unions in Khartoum University, in a statement issued on 18 February 1992 as a result of the incidents that have recently occurred at the university, have called for establishing the principle of democratic dialogue in the university; the consideration of applying university laws, rules, and regulations; and the need to be committed to them.

The organizations expressed their regret over the incidents at the university, pointing out that they represent a violation of university laws, rules, and regulations, and threaten its stability.

#### Professors Not Fired

92AF0568B Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 20 Feb 92 p 1

Article: "Humaydah: No Resignations at Khartoum University"]

[Text] Professor Mamun Humaydah, director of Khartoum University, again confirmed that examinations were continuing in an excellent fashion. He told AL-INQADH AL-WATANI that the percentage of those who have sat for their examinations in the School of Mathematical Sciences is 80 percent, and the College of Fine Arts 96 percent.

The director of Khartoum University denied a BBC report quoting the London newspaper AL-HAYAH of 19 February that a number of university professors had submitted their resignations. Humaydah stressed that there had been no collective nor individual resignations.

Also, Dr. Hamid Mustafa, dean of scientific affairs in Khartoum University, stated that examinations were progressing naturally, without any problems. The exams will be given on the university campus beginning Saturday, 22 February. He indicated that the exams had been conducted outside the university grounds to guard against problems and harassment of the examinees.

#### Under Review by Assembly

92AF0568C London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
5 Mar 92 p 5

[Article by Kamil Hamid: "Sudanese Transitional National Assembly Debates Khartoum University Incidents"]

[Excerpt] One member of the Transitional National Assembly (Sudanese Parliament) called for an urgent question yesterday in the assembly, calling on the minister of higher education to explain all facts pertaining to the Khartoum University incidents and the university administration's conduct toward them. Dr. Faysal Khadr Makki (who used to be a member of the Ummah Party) stated that Khartoum University is of concern to all Sudanese, and public opinion should be informed of all that goes on there. In reply, the minister of higher education said that he was preparing to issue a full statement at the assembly's next session, scheduled for

Monday, 24 February. He promised to give a comprehensive picture of the incidents and the administration's role in them.

Member 'Abdallah Abu-Qarun, who previously was commander of the Armed Forces in southern Sudan, demanded that the government try to attain a rapprochement with all Sudanese at home and abroad, "in order to counteract the country's numerous problems." [passage omitted]

#### Internal Affairs of School

92AF0568D Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH  
in Arabic 20 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Rashid 'Abd-al-Rahim: "Incidents Are Internal University Matters; Must be Dealt With on Campus; Students Are Victims of Polarization Between Political Organizations, Administration"]

[Text] Professor Mamun Humaydah, director of Khartoum University, graciously delivered a statement to the Sudanese community (Monday evening, 17 February) about the Khartoum University incidents. He offered important clarifications about the events inside the university. In this speech, the director paved the way for calm debate about these events and urged attempts to evaluate and share opinions, so that the university's course can be stabilized.

Khartoum University has a unique position among Sudan's various universities, by virtue of its being the first university, which makes it an influence on circumstances, and because of the history of its founding and its historic status as a citadel and a national stronghold leading the efforts against colonialism, as the country's only university at that time.

#### Speech's Positions

Evidently, the Khartoum University director's speech was detailed and explained all the incidents. However, we want to pause and reflect a little. The first observation is that the director's decisions on handling student actions, the constitution of the Sudanese Student Union, etc., were made as if in reaction to the student position in the ongoing incidents. However, they should have been university administration positions stemming from a steadfast posture, in order to avoid any reaction by the students. One example is the insistence on holding exams on their scheduled dates, since this insistence—at every stage—would hurt students considerably, particularly the senior class. The university had seen incidents in the past few days that made students constantly worry about whether or not the exams would be held. Those who wanted very much to sit the exams were nervous for days; then, the university shut down and caused them to lose the appropriate place to study, use reference materials and notes from the university and college libraries, exchange notes with their colleagues, and have meetings with professors and teaching assistants.

All of this was sufficient reason to cause the university administration to differentiate between the situation of these students (the seniors) and the rest of the university students.

### **Dangerous Phenomenon**

It is known that the recent incidents were not directed against the recent economic measures, but were reactions to the incident of suspending the [student] union and suspending studies for a number of students. Political organizations exploited these incidents and urged the students to refuse to take the exams and to take to the streets, so that the demonstration could be used against the economic decisions.

It is also known that Khartoum University is one of the universities that has witnessed obvious corruption in academic dealings with students. In some colleges, there is a monopoly on choosing candidates for the faculty, and those who oppose the political situation are fired. These practices are clearly evident in certain colleges.

In these incidents, certain professors went in this direction. A number of professors threatened to flunk students if they participated in the exams. These professors have clear political positions, and they serve their academic masters in their political disputes. Now, there are students who face this threat, particularly those opposed to certain professors' political leanings. This is a dangerous issue that the administration ought to take on, since that would safeguard students' rights and would safeguard the university against such erroneous practices.

In the recent university incidents, some students tried to forcefully prevent their colleagues from entering the examination rooms. This is undemocratic in a student society that is marked, or ought to be marked, by intelligence and wisdom.

### **Student Activity**

Khartoum University is the only university in Sudan where students know that if they demonstrate or strike, they will provoke incidents in the country, because Khartoum University is the repository of national history against colonialism and against non-national governments. They knew that suspending the academic year meant that no doctors, scientists, engineers, etc., would graduate. This meant a blow to public life. This is a statement of truth that I wish was false. Khartoum University cannot monopolize history. This is a great delusion. We now have many universities. The university could close and it would not disrupt public life. This is a fact that the university's students should be aware of. This is not meant to threaten them, but rather, it means that they should understand that dealing with their issues must be done calmly, without fear of harming public life. The university is no longer "a reactionary island in a revolutionary sea."

The university director's statement was not a position dealing with the issue of handling student activity, because that is an issue for discussion and negotiation with the students. This question ought to be an issue of academic principle, which cannot be forsaken. Student activity belongs in the student union building. As for coffee houses in the middle of the colleges, their purpose is to offer students their services, but successive university administrations have been unable to implement that, despite the fact that it is an obvious matter.

### **The Union's Constitution**

The Khartoum University director has put himself into a position where he does not have the right to intervene. The student union's constitution is a student issue, and it is amended by the students. The director's intervention would create a rebellious situation within student circles, or it would at least be a dimension that would embarrass the students, who reject the current constitution and would make them look like tools in the hands of the university director.

The administration could deal with the students through university institutions and concerned quarters, such as the dean of students, the academic secretary, deans of colleges, etc. As for student issues, the students have legitimate rights that must be preserved and maintained. It would be most proper for the administration to open a direct dialogue with the students and propose whatever it deems appropriate to them, so that they can adopt it, but the administration should not impose a version of the constitution on them. They would have to seek a legal opinion from the same person who produced this idea.

### **Freedoms Inside the University**

The university director disclosed his belief in freedom of political action within the university. He confirmed this repeatedly, but we don't understand what the director means by freedom of political action.

This statement was a significant departure from the role of university director. It will lead to an erroneous concept of what the director intends or doesn't intend by that. It means that the university will continue a position that has a different complexion in the country. Practices inside the university contradict practices outside it. This includes establishing the director's opposition to government policies aimed at dissolving and not recognizing political parties. On the contrary, his statement is a clear reference to a rejection of the government's political directions, with its ban on political parties, which has prevailed in the country, and which perhaps now is being practiced inside the university.

The time has come for the university to return to the national fold. The university should not be marked by a situation that differs with the one prevailing in the country.

If the director has found a prevailing position that he has been unable to change, he does not have the right to bestow legitimacy, recognition, and legality on it in contradiction to the constitution and custom.

The foreign media are trying to portray the university incidents as being against the government and its decisions. The statement of the university administration confirms this approach and gives political organizations the opportunity to exploit that situation.

Judicious handling of the incidents is required, including, first, holding examinations in a salubrious atmosphere that provides circumstances for study and memorization. Students should not be held hostage to the polarization between the university's administration and the political trends that threaten students inside the university. A few days' respite would be a guarantee to calm the students, especially the seniors.

As for the union's issues and the suspension of the academic year, it is an issue that could be handled without resorting to the media or inflating the event.

#### **Mosque Housing Program for Students**

92AF0622C Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 2 Mar 92 p 1

[Article: "Project for Housing Students in Mosques Inaugurated"]

[Text] Maj. Gen. al-Zubayr Muhammad Salih, the Revolutionary Command Council deputy chairman, inaugurated in Erkowit yesterday the first block of the project to house higher education students in housing attached to mosques. In the inauguration ceremony, Salih said that housing students in mosques will get university students involved in society's issues and will give students the opportunity to tie faith with education.

The National Youth Organization secretary general said that the current steps to build 220 housing units will be completed by the beginning of the next academic year.

#### **Islamic Group Wins Student Elections**

92AF0622B Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 5 Mar 92 p 1

[Article: "Islamic Gathering Wins"]

[Text] The National Islamic Gathering won the elections for the student union of the Higher Science and Technology Studies College of the University of Sudan, defeating by a wide margin the rival list, which encompassed an alliance of sectarian, secular, and leftist organizations running under the name "the nonaligned."

The top Islamic Gathering candidate won 771 votes and the bottom candidate 736 votes, whereas the top non-aligned candidate gained 459 votes and the bottom candidate 29 votes. The voting percentage was 69.3 percent.

## Efforts Made To Encourage Foreign Investment

### Positive Economic Reforms

92AF0574A Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-MUSALLAHAH in Arabic 20 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Ishraqah 'Awad and Widad Muhi-al-Din]

[Text] Dr. Faysal Murad, general director of the General Investment Authority, said that recent economic measures have been greatly successful in attracting foreign investors from several countries, including Egypt, Syria, Germany, and the U.S.

He said that a number of delegations from various countries have come on fact-finding visits to learn about economic policies and investment opportunities in Sudan. He added that the authority endeavors to facilitate formalities and reduce red tape, and that it has assembled all government agencies concerned with investment at its headquarters in order to facilitate procedures. He pointed out that the authority researches and studies projects for presentation to investors abroad and that [Sudanese] embassies play an important role in promoting investment.

Dr. Faysal Murad also said that the Authority is currently formulating regulations to organize investments in accordance with economic resolutions to liberalize, promote, and develop the economy. He pointed out that older investment laws are still in effect and that facilities extended to foreign and domestic investors will remain unchanged until new investment regulations are issued. The latter, he said, seek to facilitate procedures for licensing investment projects and will serve the interests of investors, who are now free to obtain all investment costs in convertible currencies without restriction.

He emphasized that the import-ban policy has made it a lot easier for local investors to market their products domestically without competition from imports. He concluded by affirming the role of [recent] economic measures in bolstering the economy and elevating Sudan to the ranks of countries that are masters of their fate.

### New Currencies Exchange

92AF0574B Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH in Arabic 21 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Faysal Khalid and Samya 'Ali: "Currency Purchase Rates Higher, Sales Rates Lower at Banks"]

[Text] Our investigation continues in the aftermath of recent economic measures to liberalize the Sudanese economy. This time, we are discussing banks. We found them committed to Bank of Sudan guidelines on foreign exchange transactions. Some have even devised plans to attract expatriate foreign currency resources by opening branches overseas.

Our investigation revealed that purchases by citizens continue to be positive and exponential, whereas sales are slow and do not keep pace with citizen demand.

Faysal Taj-al-Din, deputy director general of Faysal Islamic Bank, said that demand for foreign exchange is expected to exceed supply, that there is a shortage of dollars, and that demand is strong but supply is weak.

Isma'il Muhammad, manager of al-Shamal Bank, expressed concern that the bank's obligations, which he said were considerable, would run afoul of Bank of Sudan guidelines.

Yusif Himmat, manager of the University branch of Khartoum Bank, said that currency sales have a maximum of \$300 when needed for travel, and \$5,000 when needed for medical treatment, in addition to documented credit for import after completing the requirements outlined in Bank of Sudan guidelines.

He emphasized that purchase transactions are growing and that recent policies would lead to increased exports and encourage producers.

Hilmi 'Abdallah of Khartoum Bank approved of the recent policies. Economic sources expressed concern that the resolution banning the transfer of foreign exchange from one account to another might have a negative impact by giving rise to a currency market outside the banking system and at rates other than those set by the Banking Committee.

### Better Farm Administration

92AF0574C Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH in Arabic 29 Feb 92 p 1

[Article: "Undersecretary of Agriculture Attributes Last Season's Successes"]

[Text] Prof. Musa Muhammad Musa, first undersecretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, emphasized that crop productivity rose last season and crossed the barrier of low productivity.

He attributed that jump to a great change in the administrative procedures of [government] agencies, to their noticeable commitment to farmers and diligent field work, and to improved irrigation operations.

He pointed out that corn productivity amounted to approximately seven sacks per feddan at al-Jazirah and to 12 sacks per feddan at al-[Rahd] project. Peanut productivity increased markedly to 1.25 tons per feddan at al-Rahd and 0.8 tons at Halfa al-Jadidah.

He added that cotton productivity will improve considerably this year for the [Akala] and [Shambat] varieties, and that efforts are being made to preserve strain purity and homogeneity and to preserve the characteristics imparted to Sudanese cotton through long effort.

### Investments in Agriculture

92AF0574D Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH  
in Arabic 29 Feb 92 p 1

[Article: "Al-'Ani: Farm Investment Proved Successful in Sudan"]

[Text] Dr. Yusif al-'Ani, chairman of the Arab Organization for Investment and Agricultural Development emphasized that the experience of the past two years has proven that investment in Sudanese agriculture, and especially in rain-fed farming, is one of the most successful investments, due to low cost, quick implementation, and high profit.

He said that crop production was good at the organization's farms last season and returned profits as high as 100 million Sudanese pounds, in the case of al-Dammazin Project.

He announced that the organization has decided to expand by 50 percent the area to be cultivated at al-Dammazin next year, when more than 150,000 feddans will be planted with corn, cotton, and sunflowers.

He added that this season's wheat and bean crops are expected to surpass previous seasons, allowing Sudan to be self-sufficient in wheat.

### Attractive to Muslims

92AF0574E Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH  
in Arabic 26 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Hashim al-Hajj al-Sharif: "Visit by Delegation of American Investors"]

[Text] A delegation of American businessmen is currently visiting the country at the invitation of the General Investment Authority in order to familiarize the delegation with investment opportunities in Sudan.

The delegation attended a talk at which Dr. 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, chairman of the authority, spoke on Sudan's natural resources and advantages, such as fertile soil, abundant water supply, and plentiful minerals. The delegation also watched documentaries on Sudan's various resources. The films were produced by the Tourism and Hotels Authority.

A member of the delegation, Dr. Khalil Jurafi, told AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH that investing in Sudan is an obligation of Muslim businessmen, now that the Islamic revolution has taken place.

### North American Interest

92AF0574F Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI  
in Arabic 1 March 92 p 1

[Article by Musa Muhammad Yusif: "American Investors Willing To Invest in Sudan"]

[Text] Dr. 'Ali al-Hajj [Muhammad], chairman of the General Investment Authority, announced that the delegation of U.S. and Canadian investors, which visited the country recently, commended Sudanese facilities to domestic and foreign investors and expressed complete willingness to engage in investment projects in Sudan.

Dr. al-Hajj said in a press statement yesterday that the investors visited the country to investigate investment opportunities in Sudan, and that their meetings with officials at the ministries of industry, finance, agriculture, and energy and minerals convinced them that there are ample opportunities for investments in agriculture and service industries.

In another development, the minister of industry discussed investment opportunities with the 14 members of the U.S.-Canadian delegation, whom he received yesterday at the ministry. Members of the delegation expressed willingness to invest in agriculture, industrial security, and fire-fighting. Some indicated they would proceed immediately to construct a factory for ready-made clothes.

The delegation, comprising businessmen and company representatives, was in the country at the invitation of the General Investment Authority.

### Five Regions Now Open to Investors

92AF0622F Khartoum AL-QUWWAT AL-  
MUSALLAHAH in Arabic 1 Mar 92 p 1

[Article by Widad Muhi-al-Din: "Five Free Zones Open to Investors"]

[Text] General Investment Authority Chairman Dr. 'Ali al-Hajj has declared the regions of Port Sudan, al-Junaynah, Mellit, Wadi Halfa, and Juba as free [trade] zones open to investors.

In press statements yesterday, his excellency stressed that these regions will be the focus of service and industrial investments and that banks dealing in foreign exchange will be established in them, thus facilitating investment activity.

Dr. 'Ali al-Hajj also pointed out that the authority has begun the actual implementation of a number of investment projects. Dao, a Korean firm, has purchased the White Nile Tannery, the Friendship Palace Hotel, and the Abu-Na'amah Sisal Plant for \$600 million. This constitutes a part of the three-year economic salvation program, which calls for transforming some public sectors and establishments into private establishments and firms.

The authority chairman said that the authority is converting a number of public sector agricultural projects into private projects.

His excellency has also announced that there is a clear plan for investors wanting to invest in agriculture and industry, roads, bridges, and public services.

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